

Def. Doc. #1042

STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT REGARDING  
JAPAN'S NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE  
OF THE NINE POWER TREATY SIGNATORIES.

October 27, 1937.

The Japanese Government, having replied to the invitation of the Belgian Government to the Conference of the Signatories of the Nine Power Treaty of 1922, take this opportunity of making public at home and abroad a statement of their views.

1. China has witnessed the rise and fall of countless regimes since the Revolution of 1912, but her foreign policy has been consistently one of anti-foreignism. Especially since 1924, when the Kuomintang set up the Nationalist Government in Canton and entered into alliance with the Communists as a means of winning control of the central administration, the anti-foreign policy began to be pursued with unprecedented vigor and ruthlessness, and anti-foreign sentiments were kindled ablaze among the populace. The memory is still fresh of the way in which foreign Powers, one after another, were victimized and deprived of their vested rights and interests. It happens that Japan has been made for the past ten years the principal target of this anti-foreign policy of China.

Japan has always striven to promote friendship and cooperation among the nations of East Asia, in the firm conviction that therein lies the key to the stability of that region. Japan welcomed the deepening of Chinese national consciousness which followed upon the Revolution, believing that it would conduce to intimate Sino-Japanese collaboration, and she adopted the policy of meeting the legitimate national aspirations of China to the utmost possible extra-territoriality. Japan, thus cultivating China's good-will, looked patiently and eagerly forward to a favourable response that would

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consonant with her ideal of friendship and cooperation.

However, China showed no signs of appreciation of this sympathetic attitude on the part of Japan. On the contrary, she hoisted still higher the estimate upon their country's fighting power. A belligerent spirit towards Japan came to prevail throughout the land. Long before the present outbreak, Chinese newspapers and magazines were accustomed to call Japan the "Enemy country" and Japanese their enemies. At the time of the Lukouchi Incident the Nanking Government, being driven to action against Japan by the internal situation they themselves had created, Japan's cautious attitude and her policy of local settlement were both doomed to utter failure.

With the aggravation of the situation all Japanese residents, not only in North China but also in Central and South China became exposed to imminent danger, and were compelled to evacuate en masse, abandoning the enterprises that they had toilsomely built up during long years in the past. At the same time the Chinese in Shanghai, in contravention of the 1932 Truce Agreement, secretly set out to construct military works in the demilitarized zone and to perfect their war preparations. Accordingly in June last the Japanese Government made a request for a special conference of the Powers concerned, and called the attention of the Chinese Government to the matter. The Chinese refused to alter their attitude, but upon the outbreak of the armed conflict in North China, they moved troops into the prohibited zone in flagrant violation of the Truce Agreement, and finally following upon the murder of an officer and a man belonging to the Japanese Landing Party on August 9, they launched an attack upon the International Settlement. While the Japanese authorities were still engaged in negotiations with the representatives of the Powers concerned, in a desperate attempt to

prevent hostilities with extreme patience and forbearance and bearing serious strategical disadvantages, the Chinese began to shell and bomb the Japanese quarter of the Settlement as well as the Japanese garrison defending it, with a view to annihilating the 30,000 Japanese residents as well as the Japanese forces who were hopelessly outnumbered by the Chinese armies. Thereupon Japan was compelled to take counter-measures in self-defence.

As is clear from the foregoing account, the fundamental cause of the aggravation of the present affair is to be found in the policy of the Nanking Government who moved large, threatening forces into North China in contravention of the Ho-Umezu Agreement and also tore up the Truce Agreement by marching troops on the International Settlement. Japan was compelled to take up arms in self-defence, and she has chosen this opportunity to make the Nanking Government revise their attitude for the sake of the permanent peace of East Asia. Therefore, the present affair can never be settled until the Nanking Government mend their ways, abandon once and for all their anti-Japanese policy and accept Japan's policy of cooperation and collaboration between the two countries.

3. It should be remembered that one of the important factors underlying Nanking's feverish agitations of more recent years against Japan is the action taken by the League of Nations at the time of the Manchurian Incident. That body then adopted a resolution framed in utter disregard of the realities of the situation in East Asia, which strongly stimulated China in her anti-Japanese policy. Now the League has once more taken up the appeal of the Nanking Government. Without going fully into the real causes of the present affair, it has concluded on the basis of false

reports that the bombing of the military works in strongly fortified Nanking and Canton was an attack upon defenseless cities, and adopted the resolution of September 27 condemning Japan. Again on October 6 the Assembly of the League not only concluded that Japan's action constituted a violation of the Anti-War Pact and the Nine Power Treaty but also adopted a resolution which openly called for assistance to China. Such proceedings on the part of the League only fall in with the cunning scheme of the Nanking Government to exert pressure upon Japan by inviting the intervention of third Powers, and serve no useful end but to encourage China in her resolve to oppose Japan to the last and to render a settlement of the affair more difficult than ever. It must be said that the League of Nations is repeating the error that it committed but a few years ago.

Japan's action is a measure of self-defense taken in the face of Chinese challenge, and obviously there can be no question of violation of the Nine Power Treaty. Moreover, as compared with the time when that treaty was concluded, the situation of East Asia to-day has been rendered totally different, owing to the infiltration of Communist influence and the changes of internal conditions prevailing in China. In any case, as regards the conference that has been convened of the signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty, it is a foregone conclusion that a majority of the participants will hold themselves bound by the above-mentioned resolutions of the League of Nations, and even if Japan took part in its deliberations, no fair and just results could ever be expected therefrom as in the case of the League meeting at the time of the Manchurian Incident. Especially as this Conference is to be attended by Powers which are not directly interested in East Asia, it is calculated to arouse popular feeling both in Japan

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and China, thereby complicating the situation still further but contributing nothing toward a solution. The Japanese Government have, therefore, decided to decline the invitation.

The Japanese nation, rising as one man, is united in the determination to surmount all obstacles for the purpose of effecting a speedy settlement. Japan is by no means indifferent towards international cooperation. But the Sino-Japanese difficulties can be solved only through direct negotiations between the two Powers on whom falls the common burden of responsibility for the stability of East Asia. What is needed is the elimination of Nanking's anti-Japanese policy and the Communist elements which are identified with it, so that there may be established an enduring peace based upon Sino-Japanese unity and cooperation. Japan never looks upon the Chinese people as an enemy, nor does she harbour any territorial designs. It is rather her sincere wish to witness the material and spiritual advancement of the Chinese nation. And it is her desire to promote cultural and economic cooperation with foreign Powers regarding China, while at the same time she will respectfully their rights and interests there. Accordingly, as soon as the Powers understand the true intentions of Japan, and take suitable steps to make the Nanking Government reconsider their attitude and policy, then and only then will a way have been paved for their cooperation with Japan respecting the settlement of the present conflict.

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C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, Kiyoshi, Kacru, Chief of the Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached in English, consisting of 6 pages and entitled: "Statement of the Japanese Government regarding Japan's Non-Participation in the Conference of the Nine Power Treaty Signatories, October 27, 1937." is an exact and true copy of an official document of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Certified at Tokyo,  
on this 5th day of April, 1947.

K. Hayashi  
Signature of Official

Witness: K. Urabe

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九國協約国会體不參加ニ曰スル帝國政府ノ聲明

(大和十二年十月二十七日)

帝國政府ハ九國協約會體ニ曰スル六月二十日開白事ニ國政府ノ通譯ニ同  
容スルノ機會ニ方リ、詳細從來ノ經緯ヲ及シ、強ク其ノ所信ヲ申外ニ明  
示セントス。

一、文部ハ李寅貴命以來從多政權ノ兵亡アリタルモ其一貫ニル對外政策ハ  
特外ニアリ、然ニ中國國民黨力口民政府ヲ樹立ニ吉立シ甲次改編後得  
ノ手段トシテ大正十三年聯説容共政權ヲ據ツテ以來其ノ特外政策ハ一  
時失墮焉ト爲リ支那民眾ノ特外思想亦隨ニ變遷ヲ加フルニ至レリ。  
之カ如列國ニシテ既得ノ社會ヲ經營ニ俟シアルモノ比々皆然ラザルア  
キハ今尙世人ノ記憶ニ新ナル所ニシテ殊ニ最近十年支那ハ特外政策ノ  
目標ヲ主トシテ帝國ニ置ケリ。帝國ハ以ニ東亞諸國ノ規律提携カ東亞  
安定ノ軸輪ナルヲ確信シ竟意之力實現ノ爲努力シ來リ、蘇中隣邦支那  
カ民國革命以來次第ニ國家意識ニ目覺メ來レルハ日支ノ依存ニ添フ強

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輒ナラシムル所以ナリトシ帝國ノ義理セル所ニシテ、帝國ハシタテ支那ノ正當ナル国民的義理ニ同ハントスルノ政事ヲ拂リ、或ハ支那ノ義理自ら相同意ニ奉先協力シ、或ハ治外法權之廢ニシスル支那ノ要望ニ對シテ好意的態度ヲ表明スル等、只管日本支那善ノ增進ニ努力スルト共ニ支那力之ニ順應シ來ランコトヲ得望セリ。然ルニ南京政府ハ帝國ノ斯ノ如キ同情アル態度ヲ多トセサルノミナラス、却テ益々日本ノ武力ヲ磨シ文那ニ於ケル帝國ノ權益ヲ漠漠セシメスンハ已マサラントスルノ旨ヲ示シ、特ニ最近數年來ハ昨日及抗日ヲ以ア國內ノ第一、南京政府ノ強化ノ具ニ僕シ、宣聯、學校ニ於テハ昨日フ以テ精神教育ノ限界ノ強化ノ具ニ僕シ、宣聯、學校ニ於テハ昨日フ以テ精神教育ノ限界ト爲シ、紀載ナル幼少年時代ヨリ舊聯ヲ仇敵視スルノ思想ヲ注入スルカ如キ世界ニ其ノ類ヲ見サルノ暴舉ヲ致テシ、其ノ結果帝國ノ平和ナル通商、經濟上ノ活動ノ妨害ハ固ヨリ我居留民ノ安住ヲモ有成スルニ至リ、遂テハ組織的恐怖行爲ニ迄發展シ、單ニ茲一兩年ノ例ニ微スルモ、昭和十年十一月ノ上海ニ於ケル水兵殺害事件ヨリ汕頭、成都、北

海、海口、上海ニ於ケル帝國官署ノ被襲、寧沙、沙勿  
尼ノ炮臺等級爆スヘキ事件ノ報發ヲ見タリ。深ク事態ヲ察ヘタル帝國  
政府ハ隱忍以テ發度カ南京政府ノ行省ヲ促シタルモ其ノ效ナク、折衝  
釋々年暮ノ四宗事件生シ彼ニ国民質共產權ノ妥協成リ、共產分子ハ抗日  
方略ノ下ニ北支難ニ泊留日甚仇ヲ企圖スルニ至リ、又ノ如ノ過ノト  
ヨロ迄ニ本年七月七日臺灣事件ニ於ケル支那軍ノ日本軍不滿攻擊事件ヲ  
起スルニ至レリ。

二、右事件發生スルヤ帝國政府ハ之ヲ以テ日支間ノ大事ニ立場ラシメサラ  
ンコトヲ明シ、直ニ事態不損大局地僻決ノ計ヲ立テ、作戰上多大ノ犠  
牲ヲ忍ンテ派兵ヲ見合セ、飛機ヲ造スルヲ覺悟ノ上、二十數日ニ亘リ  
積極的軍事行動ヲ差控ヘ、以テ慎重處理ノ手段ヲ盡シタルニ反シ、南  
京政府ハ却テ梅津何應欽協定ヲ踰越シテ南京政府直屬ノ大軍ヲ續々北  
上セシメ、帝國軍隊ヲ脅威スルト共ニ現地支那軍ヲ煽動スルノ舉ニ出  
テ、事態ハ遂ニ全面的衝突ニ迄發展スルニ至レリ。軒シ拵日ヲ國內統  
一ノ具トスル南京政府ハ、最近兩三年日本ヲ目標トシテ國民ニ對シ盛

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ニシテ思謀ヲ實吹スル一方多量ノ武器輸入、要塞ノ設置、軍隊ノ訓練等ニヨリ急速ニ軍事ヲ強化シタル結果支那實業ハ自負ノ念ニ據ラレ國民亦自力ヲ過信スルニ至り、帝國ニ對シテ製ヲ挑ムノ風潮國内ニ瀰漫シ、既ニ今回ノ事變前支那ノ言論者曰ハ日本及日本人ヲ敵國又ハ敵人ト呼ンテ譴ラサリシモノニシテ、一度虛謬誇ニ惹起ルヤ、南京政府ハ自ラ自成シタル國內情勢ニ圖ラレ、帝國ノ威實ナル感應及局地解決ノ方針モ遂ニ施スニ由ナカリシ次第ナリ。

專艦ハ斯ノ如クシテ强大セラレ北支ノミナラス中南支各地ニ於ケル帝國臣民ハ愈々生命ノ危險ニ暴せルニ至リ遂ニ多年々建設セル生活ノ根據ヲ棄テ各地ヨリ全面的ニ引揚クルノ已ムナキニ至レリ。他方上海ニ於テハ、南京政府ハ從來共昭和七年ノ停戰協定ヲ遵守セス非武表地帶内ニ密ニ堅固ナル陣地ヲ構築スル等諸々戰備ヲ整フル所アリ、於茲帝國政府ハ本年六月特ニ場定日係國會議ノ開催ヲ求メ、支那側ノ注意ヲ喚起シタルカ、支那側ハ聊カモ其ノ態度ヲ改メス、北支ニ於ケル

首突勃發スルヤ公然停戰協定ヲ陰門シテ正規軍ヲ非武装地帯ニ侵入セシメ、遂ニ八月九日帝國海軍將兵ノ侵殺ヲ御機トシテ食々謀殺ノ事件ヲシ帝國政府カ仁義協定口條目トモ連絡シ、隠忍ニシテ忍ヲ眞未作及上大ナル不料ヲ忍ンテ、侵暴者衆國民ノ爲最後ノ勝利迄百萬兵力シタルニモ拘ラス支那國ハ突如世界防備ノ帝國軍隊及以ガ在日民ニ討シ空氣砲艦ヲ相ヘ、寡少ナル陸戦兵ハ同ヨリ一財ニ高ノ居留民被殺ヲ企圖スルニ至レルヲ以テ警戒ニ至リテハ帝國トシテモ吉野ノ馬鹿スルノ意旨ナキニ至レル次第ナリ。

以上ニ依リ明ナル通り今次事變ノ根原ハ南京政府ノ撤底的排日政策ニ存シ、且無端大ノ直撃原因ハ南京政府カ総理何廉欲協定ヲ侵犯シテ中興軍ヲ大舉北上セシメ、又上海ニ於テ停戰協定ヲ蹂躪シテ兵ヲ越界ニ進メタルニマリ、此ニ至テ遂ニ帝國ハ已ムナク自衛ノ爲眞起シ、此ノ機會ニ於テ東亞百年ノ平和確立ノ爲南京政府ノ反省ヲ求メツツアル次第ナリ。依テ今次事變解決ノ要諦ハ南京政府ニ於テ眞然其ノ非ヲ改メ

排日政策ヲ實現シ日支提携ノ義方口實ニ協調スルニアルノミ。

三、西ルニ近年南京政府ヲシテ排日ニ奔セシムルニ至レル重要ナル原因ノ一ハ、往年滔滔之變ニ際シ、國際上歐カ東亞粗實ノ發展ヲ觀シテ探擇セル決議ニ依リ支那ノ排日政策ヲ實現スル結果ヲ招來セルニアリ然ルニ即除耶穢ハ今又卒然南京政府ノ提議ヲ取上ケ旋即ノ報告ニ依報シ深ク事變ノ變因ヲ究明スル所ナク、九月二十七日ニハ防備設セシムナル南京、廣東ノ軍事施設ハシヲ無防備の市ノ空城ナリト定シ、帝國ヲ非難スルノ決議ヲ爲シ、更ニ十月六日ノ聯署會ニ於テ帝國ノ行動ヲ以テ九國條約費ニ不貲假約拂反ナリト肯定セルノミナラス通ニテ公然支那援助ノ決議ヲ探擇シタルカ如キハ、列國ノ干涉ヲ七八シテ帝國ヲ抑ヘントスル南京政府ノ奸策ヲ支援スル結果ト爲リ、支那ノ抗日決議ヲ倅々鼓舞シ專横ノ收容ヲ益々開拓ナラシムルモノニシテ、往年ノ過誤ヲ再ヒ繰返シツツアルモノト謂ハサルヲ得ス。

May 10th 1942

清反ノ開口ヲ發生スルノ餘地ナキハ明ナルノミナラス、近時支那ニ於ケル赤化勢力ノ根潤、日內情勢ノ根化等ニ依リ東亞ノ事態ハ九日簽約成立當時トハ若シク異レルモノアリ。殊ニ今次招請セラレタル九國條約會議之加國ノ大多數ハ国民党員耳。決議ニ拘束セラルヘキニ依リ假令帝國政府ニ於テ同有過ニシ加スルモ酒淵事變ノ際ニ於カルハ國會議員ト圖様到此公正ナル結果ヲ得得シ得ス、況ヤ東亞ニ殆ト利權ノ關係ヲ有セサル諸國ヲモ知ヘタル此ノ義ノ立體ハ徒ニ日本中國ノ民心ヲ判較シ、却テ是にタ餘々粉飾セシメ、時局收拾ニ堪セラヌル所ナカルヘキヲ以テ、帝國政府ハ茲ニ參加ヲ粗忽セル次第ナリ。

吾國ハ今ヤ舉國一致萬難ヲ排シテ南京政府ノ反對ヲ求メ志ノ遠ナル得決ニ到達セントス。然レトモ帝國ハ國ヨリ列國トノ如クノ顧念セサルモノニ非ス。只日支ノ紛爭ハ東亞ノ安寧ニ共同ノ責任ヲ負擔スル兩

國固ノ直接交渉ニ依リテノミ之ヲ解決シ得ヘキモノニシテ、要ハ吾國協和ノ障礙ト爲リ當ニ帝國ノ權益ヲ實現シツツアル南京政府ノ拂日政

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策ト之ト勾結セル赤化勢力トヲ排除シ、以テ日支擬撫ニ基ク東亜極久ノ平和ヲ確立スルニアリ。從テ帝曰ハ支那ノ民衆ヲ敵視シ、其ノ領土ヲ侵略スルカ如キ意圖ナキノミナラス即テ支那人民ノ物質的精神性向に上ヲ祈念スルモノニシテ、外曰ノ在支那者ハ抱ク迄之ヲ尊氣シツツ列日本ト共ニ支那ニ對スル文化的又經濟的情訓ヲ期シ居ル次第ナリ。故ニ若シ列曰ニシテ能ク右帝曰ノ眞意ヲ理解シ、南京政府ノ反省ヲ促スニ適切ナルモ體ニ居ツルニ於テハ致ニ初メテ今次事變ノ備決ニ付シ帝曰ト協調ノ途ヲ開クコトヲ得ヘキナリ。

自分・林

文部ノ出所並ニ成立ニ關スル證明書  
馨ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル事ニル處・茲ニ添付シ

ラレタル日本語ニ依テ馨ニレ八頁一リ成ル

ノル日本國政府ノ證明書昭和十二年十一月二十日

尾スルノ由ハ日本政府・外務省ノ保管ニシタル公文書ノ正稿ニシテ眞實  
ナル寫シナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年四月五日 於東京

林

右署名は自分ノ西前ニ於テ寫サレタリ

同日於同所

部勝馬

馨